Check for updates

IN THE COMPANY OF WOMEN: STRUCTURE AND AGENCY IN A REVISED POWER-CONTROL THEORY OF GENDER AND DELINQUENCY*

BILL McCARTHY
University of California at Davis

JOHN HAGAN
Northwestern University

TODD S. WOODWARD
University of British Columbia

A power-control theory of the gender-delinquency relationship draws attention to differences in familial control practices. We extend the theory to address how parental agency and support for dominant attitudes or schemas influence male as well as female delinquency. This extension emphasizes that differences in structure, particularly between more and less patriarchal households, result in different family practices, especially for mothers and sons. We find that variation in mothers' agency within the home affects their sons' support of conventional views, in particular, attitudes about the gendered nature of activities, risk preferences, and beliefs about impunity, as well as their involvement in delinquent activities. Thus, the agency of mothers in less patriarchal families is an underappreciated source of reduced delinquency among sons.

At the beginning of this decade Charles Wellford (1990:15–16) offered the following assessment of Hagan et al.'s (1989) power-control theory of gender and delinquency:

> The authors argue that the differences in rates of delinquency by gender reflect differences in parental control, subsequent risk preferences, delinquent behavior, and delinquent designations. The central question for the theory is 'how and why are individuals located in male adolescent positions freer to deviate in ways defined by the state as delinquent than are individuals located in female adolescent positions?' The answer: In industrialized societies where work and family

---

* This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Canada. Points of view expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of SSHRC. We thank Ana Bettencourt and Lesley Kenny for their comments on earlier drafts of this work.

> are separated, patriarchal families emerge that reflect the division of labor in society. Families socialize the young to perpetuate these divisions of labor, thus emphasizing the control of females and encouraging male aggressiveness. . .Oh, if it were that simple!

Wellford's point is not that power-control theory is all wrong, but that it is incomplete; this assertion is true for more reasons than Wellford suggests.

Power-control theory began as an attempt to explain why males are much more involved than females in common delinquency (Hagan et al., 1979). It focuses on the reproduction of gender relations across generations of parents and children in patriarchal family structures, emphasizing that this reproduction perpetuates males' greater delinquency. The theory's name evokes images of male dominance that operate through power and control, and its emphasis on patriarchal family structure and risk taking directs attention to male preoccupations and pursuits. Indeed, the most influential statement of the theory cites as exemplars the indiscretions of the "young Kennedys," exclusively featuring the men of this family (Hagan et al., 1987).

Nonetheless, concern that female delinquency was rising (Adler, 1975; Simon, 1975) encouraged elaborations of power-control theory (Grasmick et al., 1993, 1996; Hagan et al., 1989). These efforts suggest that as women enter paid labor and assume more powerful positions in the workplace, mothers, and by extension their daughters, might become freer and less controlled. Thus, daughters could become more like sons in their willingness to take risks and in their involvement in delinquency. These elaborations' selective attention to the changing delinquency of females rather than males, together with their focus on the reduced maternal control of daughters, neglect of mothers' changing relations with sons, and reified visions of family and gender relations, portray daughters and mothers as the structural counterparts of "cultural dupes." They suggest that these women not only respond in an overwhelmingly reactive way to the family structures that surround them, but that they have little influence on their environment.

No wonder feminist critics were wary of these extensions of power-control theory! They questioned how much elaborations of power-control theory could tell us about a putative rise in female delinquency (e.g., Messerschmidt, 1993; Naffine, 1987), and they worried that selective attention to female offending and women's paid labor would encourage a backlash against gender equality (e.g., Chesney-Lind and Shelden, 1992). Meanwhile, neither the theory's critics nor its defenders fully considered a power-control theory's ability to address the further possibility that changes in women's work and family experiences might affect their relationships with their sons and their sons' fathers, thus altering, and perhaps diminishing delinquency among males.

It seems unlikely that changes in women's labor force experiences would encourage them to treat their family roles as reactively, and by implication, as unreflectively as suggested by power-control theory. This underdeveloped portrayal of women—and men—ignores changes in agency that may accompany the evolution of gender-based roles outside and inside the family.[1] We begin to address this oversight, focusing on changing family structures and practices. Drawing on William Sewell's (1992) work on structure and agency we offer an elaboration of power control theory, focusing on the relationships between gender, familial control, risk and delinquency; we then test whether a revised power-control theory can more effectively account for variation in delinquency across family types and between genders, with particular attention to male delinquency.

RESTRUCTURING GENDER AND DELINQUENCY

Power-control theory's oversights are not unique; rather, these shortcomings reflect a common failure to theorize adequately structure and social change. Sewell (1992) notes that the concept of structure operates in the social sciences as a powerful metaphorical and metonymic device that overwhelmingly implies stability. As such, structure points to ". . . the tendency of patterns of relations to be reproduced, even when actors engaged in the relations are unaware of the patterns or do not desire their reproduction" (p. 3). Although the concept of structure is not fatally flawed by this emphasis, its liabilities and benefits need to be addressed, especially if it is to be more useful in accounting for change. To this end, Sewell proposes that we revise our notion of structure to (1) recover the agency of social actors, (2) reconsider the place of change, and (3) remove the division between materialistic and semiotic visions.

Extending work by Giddens (1984) and other structuralists, Sewell redefines structure distinguishing between its "actual" and "virtual" dimensions. Actual refers to the concrete representations of the principles that pattern social practices. These representations, or *resources*, may be nonhuman—naturally occurring or manufactured objects such as wealth—or human—strength, knowledge, and emotions—and are a means of gaining, controlling, and reproducing power. The virtual dimension of structure is the intangible knowledge or memory traces that people use when they act. Using the example of rules, Sewell describes actual rules as formally stated prescriptions spelled out in laws, contracts, proverbs, and comparable writings. In contrast, virtual rules or what Sewell calls "*schemas*," are the uncodified procedures used to enact or reproduce social life, including rules of etiquette, aesthetic norms, and broader recipes for group life. Schemas are transportable—thus, their virtual quality—and their significance and application extend beyond specific situations and practices.

---

[1] In an early paper, McCarthy and Hagan (1987) document changes in the gender-delinquency relationship during the depression of the 1930s and suggest that fathers' increased involvement in family life may have contributed to lower levels of male offending; however, they do not pursue the role of mothers in any depth.

Sewell argues that a theory of the reproduction and alteration of social structure must recognize that schemas and resources are brought into play in mutually reinforcing ways. He posits that ". . . it must be true that schemas are the effects of resources, just as resources are the effects of schemas" (p. 13). This insight not only overcomes the divisive exclusivity of other approaches, such as the material determinism in traditional Marxism and the ideal determinism of French structuralism, but it points to the crucial roles schemas and resources play in explaining stability and change in social structures. The dynamic of this interplay is aptly captured in Giddens's (1984) use of the notion of structuration, which emphasizes that structure must be regarded as a process and not a steady state.

Sewell makes a further advance, adding the element of agency and opening a door that leads beyond reproduction to structural change and transformation. "Agency," Sewell observes, ". . . is the actor's capacity to reinterpret and mobilize an array of resources in terms of cultural schemas other than those that initially constituted the array" (p. 19). Of course, agency is neither evenly distributed nor uncontested. As Sewell notes, ". . . all members of society exercise some measure of agency in the conduct of their daily lives" (p. 20); yet, agency varies with access to and control over resources and schemas because "structures, and the human agencies they endow, are laden with differences in power" (p. 21).

The key to understanding structural change involves tracing the resources, schemas, and agency of actors in relation to others located within social units; these may be further weakened or buttressed by external processes, such as transformations in social institutions or practices. For example, the patriarchal family structures that are a focal point in power-control theory are both dominant and contested collectivities in advanced industrial societies. Sewell recognizes the dynamic nature of the patriarchal family and uses it to illustrate how social structures are both reproductive and transformative, with the prospects of change, much less transformation, weighted against those struggling with and resisting standing arrangements. "The agency of fathers," he notes incisively, ". . . is greatly expanded by the places they occupy in patriarchal families. . .and by their consequent authority to bind the collectivity by their actions" (p. 21). Thus, agency is always power based and collective in its implications, and the dual mobilization of schemas and resources necessitates communication and coordination. Sewell observes that, "[a]gency entails an ability to coordinate one's actions with others and against others, to form collective projects, to persuade, to coerce, and to monitor the simultaneous effects of one's own and others' activities" (p. 21). The challenge for power-control theory is to trace and demonstrate such collective processes for retention and contention by mothers, fathers, sons, and daughters in the real life settings where their efforts to reproduce or change patriarchal family life occur.

RESTRUCTURING POWER-CONTROL THEORY

At the macro level, power-control theory combines insights from neo-Marxist works and socialist-feminist writings (see Hagan et al., 1989). Drawing on the former, it argues that workplace experiences are structured on two lines: ownership and authority. These two dimensions divide people into four classes: employers who own the means of production and supervise others; petit bourgeoisie who have ownership but do not supervise anyone; managers who supervise people but do not own production resources; and workers (including the unemployed) who neither own the means of production, nor supervise others. Accordingly, power within the workplace (and in many spheres outside it) decreases across these positions, from its peak in the employer class to its lowest point among workers, particularly the unemployed.

Informed by feminist contributions, power-control theory maintains that gender also structures workplace experiences. Thus, all else held constant (e.g., educational and cultural backgrounds), women typically have been allocated less ownership and authority relative to men. Power-control theory acknowledges the complex interrelationships between gender power and class power, particularly in western-capitalist societies, and recognizes that each reinforces the other (see similarly Messerschmidt, 1986, 1993); however, it maintains that ownership and authority relationships outside the home, particularly those in the workplace, influence the gender division of parental power and practices within families. Further, power-control theory argues that although females and males are exposed to gender-stratified family practices during their childhood, their encounters with class and gender stratification in the workplace can exert an even stronger influence on the patterned agency they establish in the families they form in adulthood. Thus, consistent with Sewell's focus, power-control theory maintains that the engendered maintenance of social roles in families is built around the relative resources available to mothers and fathers where they work.

The gender division of power at work is reproduced at home in three ideal-type, two-parent patriarchal, matriarchal, and balanced families. In patriarchal families, men have higher class positions in the workplace than their spouses; this imbalance provides fathers with greater resources, particularly power, and increases their ability to establish and reproduce structures of male dominance at home. Sewell (1992:10) points out that, "part of what it means to conceive of human beings as agents is to conceive of them as empowered by access to resources of one kind or another;" as structural agents, patriarchal fathers' greater access to resources empowers them, enabling them to enlist mothers in reproducing the engendered schemas of patriarchal family life. In matriarchal households, women have a higher workplace class position than their spouses and their enhanced access to resources may allow them greater control in deciding the nature and extent of their participation in family life. In the third, balanced families, men and women have comparable workplace class positions and their more equal access to work-based resources may encourage mothers and fathers to rethink and restructure family roles.

These categories ignore variations in gender power that characterize most families; that is, regardless of family type, most women and men exercise some gender-based power in certain contexts. Thus, we refer to families in a relative sense as being more patriarchal (i.e., husbands having greater access to resources than their wives), more matriarchal (the reverse), or less patriarchal (i.e., husbands and wives having more equal access to resources).

Our ideal typifications underplay two other dimensions of contemporary families: non-nuclear households and the more variable nature of family arrangements. Single parent-families, blended families and those headed by nonparents (e.g., relatives or foster parents) have proliferated in the last three decades; also, a greater proportion of contemporary families experience several, and sometimes repeated, permutations as they transform, for example, from nuclear families to single-parent or blended households (Hines, 1997). These two characteristics likely influence the gender-delinquency relationship to some degree; nonetheless, we assume that the gender-based structures central to power-control theory influence most two-parent heterosexual families (e.g., biological, step-, and foster) and that youth are most powerfully influenced by the family in which they spend their formative years. We recognize that the gender-based power of other parents who enter families when children are older also has an influence, but in most cases it is likely to be secondary (Cherlin and Furstenberg, 1994; Hines, 1997; Seltzer, 1994). We assume that the patterns central to power-control theory also occur in single-headed households that were once intact or in which a second-parent (e.g., relative or stepparent) once lived. The effects of the absent parents are most likely strongest if the families remain unaltered during children's formative years and decline as the duration of marriages decreases. The complete absence of a second parent in some single-headed households precludes issues related to parental variation in class and gender power; however, given the high proportion of female-headed households, we assume that these families are typically more matriarchal in their structure (Hines, 1997; Manning and Smock, 1997).[2]

Patriarchal families have dominated contemporary western-industrial societies; they have been the most common type of family and are supported by other structures (e.g., education) that promote patriarchy. However, during the last three decades, several factors have signaled a change toward more balanced, or less patriarchal, households;[3] these include the rapid growth in women's involvement in the labor force (particularly in high status occupations) and post-secondary education; women's greater economic power; liberalization of family and divorce law; the proliferation of feminist attitudes; and changes in institutions and institutional practices that reflect a feminist perspective.

Power-control theory predicts that the change in family structure to more balanced households has several implications for the socialization of sons and daughters. The theory recognizes the multifaceted nature of childrearing and child-parent relationships, but focuses predominantly on parental agency as expressed in control practices. Extending the work of Carol Gilligan (1982), it discusses two types of control: relational and instrumental. Relational control involves affective ties between parents and children and typically is expressed in affinity with and affection for each other. These connections operate as indirect controls when they persuade children and youth to reject deviant activities in order to preserve emotional bonds with parents. Instrumental control is a more explicit expression of agency, and focuses on parents' involvement in supervision and surveillance, practices that reduce children's opportunities to offend and heighten their awareness of parental interest in their activities.

Control practices differ across parents, genders, and families. Compared to fathers, mothers are more active agents in controlling children and control daughters more than sons. These patterns are strongest in more patriarchal families and weaker in less patriarchal ones. Thus, power-control theory predicts that the gender-delinquency relationship will be weaker in less patriarchal homes, as mothers and, to some extent, fathers make their control practices more gender-equitable.

---

[2] Note however, that many single-mother families involve other adults. Using the 1990 decennial census, Manning and Smock (1997) find that only about half of the children in single-mother families lived exclusively with one adult; Bumpass and Sweet (1989) report that nearly one-half of children who live with a single mother live with a step-father at some point.

[3] There is less evidence of a growth in "matriarchal" families. For example, in their research Hagan et al. found 31 matriarchal households; in the analysis reported below, there are 38 (less than 7% in either sample). Thus, notwithstanding its theoretical significance, the small number of matriarchal families precludes examinations of their effects.

Previous work on the varying gender-delinquency relationship focuses on maternal reductions in the control of daughters to levels more closely resembling those of sons; this work underemphasizes that mothers may also make their control practices more equitable by increasing their control of sons. Thus, compared to mothers in more patriarchal families, those in less patriarchal homes may be less involved in directly supervising daughters; however, they may also intensify their control of sons, giving the sons less freedom and more family responsibilities relative to male youth in more patriarchal homes. Other work suggests that the effects of parental agency may interact with gender, with males being more profoundly influenced by levels of control typically experienced by most female youth (see Heimer, 1996). Although not central to previous discussions of power-control theory, it is clear that parental controls reflect gendered schemas or rules about children's behaviors, as well as parents' agency in shaping these; these gendered schemas exert their influence when mothers and fathers use child-care practices that differ between sons and daughters.

In its original formulation, power-control theory gave little attention to other schemas, particularly those that undergird patriarchal institutions; yet, as suggested in more recent work (Grasmick et al., 1996), these schemas are key to explaining perpetuation and change in family relations. In patriarchal societies, key schemas include those concerning gender and the gender specificity of activities such as the division of labor and recreational pursuits; the former define women's and men's basic characteristics (e.g., feminine versus masculine), whereas the latter characterize activities, typically prescribing domestic, childcare, and, "expressive" activities for women versus paid labor, decision-making, and instrumental endeavors for men. Although beliefs about the basic nature of men and women undoubtedly influence the form and power of gendered-activity schemas, these schemas are informed by other sources, including norms, gender divisions in power, and the separation of work from family, and they represent a distinct dimension of patriarchal culture. Other theories direct attention to gender-schemas; for example, Heimer (1996) incorporates insights from sex-role and masculinity theories into her research on the gender-specific effects of gender definitions on delinquency.[4] We focus on

---

[4] We separate schemas about the gender-specificity of activities from those about gender. Although discussion and measurement of the latter frequently include the former, gender-nature theories introduce other elements (e.g., biologically and culturally induced expressions and norms of masculinity and femininity) that distinguish them from our focus on gendered activities (see Messerschmidt, 1993; Naffine, 1987).

"gendered-activity" schemas, particularly as supported by parental agency and control.

Power-control theory suggests, but has not developed a key point: that schemas vary across family structures. In more patriarchal families, parents offer greater support for dominant schemas and encourage their children to adopt conventional notions about the gender specificity of certain activities; in contrast, parents, and particularly mothers, who live in less patriarchal households are more likely to question these views. A further difference likely occurs across gender; that is, all else equal, male children are more likely to support beliefs consistent with conventional patriarchy. Male approval, particularly in more patriarchal families, is encouraged by the greater benefits and freedoms gendered-activity schemas provide them (e.g., greater freedom in the public world), and by cultural and structural conditions that legitimize these schemas. In more balanced households, parental resources and agency may diminish this gender difference in support of patriarchal schemas. For example, mothers in less patriarchal families may challenge dominant schemas about genders and gendered activities: they may increase their control of sons relative to daughters and encourage their sons to adopt views that contrast with dominant schemas. Cross-family variation in attitudes among daughters is less likely; daughters may be more alike in their attitudes toward gendered activities given their higher levels of control (relative to males), their greater exposure to more liberal views about gender in several areas of their lives (e.g., school or among friends), and the gender inequality that underlies gendered-activity schemas. *Thus, variation in maternal support for gendered-activity schemas may be more consequential for variation in male rather than female offending.*

The class and gender stratification of familial control has implications for other attitudes, particularly those associated with risks. Given their positions of power, greater freedom from household restraints, and support for gendered-activity schemas, males in more patriarchal homes are more likely than females to interpret risk taking as pleasurable and believe that they can avoid the negative consequences associated with risky pursuits. This gender difference is probably smaller in less patriarchal families in which different agency and control practices may heighten daughters' risk preferences while lowering those of sons.

For example, Heimer (1996) examines how gender conditions support of gender definitions in her work on a theory of differential social control. Some of her items match those that we use (e.g., her item, "Fathers should make most of the decisions in families"); however, two of her items involve constitutional differences between men and women (i.e., "Women are too emotional to make decisions well," and "Women are physically and emotionally weaker than men"). Thus her measure differs from our focus on the gender-specificity of activities.

Power-control theory argues that the processes described above are particularly influential in explaining differences in involvements in common types of delinquency, such as minor theft, vandalism, fighting, smoking cigarettes, and soft-drug use.[5] To summarize, the theory predicts that involvement in minor delinquency increases with a preference for risks, a belief of impunity, and support of dominant gendered-activity schemas, whereas it decreases with parental and particularly maternal control. These processes interact with gender and family structure. Four conditions encourage more extensive involvement in delinquent activities among males, relative to females: (1) a greater degree of freedom from the controls of parental agency; (2) more exposure to and support of master schemas that define activities as gender-specific and legitimize male independence; (3) a greater preference for a risk-seeking approach to life; and (4) a stronger conviction that one is unlikely to experience negative consequences for engaging in risky activities.

The gender-deviance imbalance these relationships produce is pronounced in more patriarchal families and weaker in less patriarchal ones. In the latter, more balanced families, maternal agency—particularly when expressed through control practices and a questioning of patriarchal schemas—can mitigate the aforementioned process and reduce the gender difference in delinquency, by changing the views and activities of both sons and daughters. In these families, maternal control may decrease sons' support for gendered-activity schemas, which may, in turn, diminish risk preferences and beliefs of impunity, changes that should decrease involvement in delinquency. These mothers may also control their daughters less than more patriarchal mothers, thereby increasing their daughters' penchant for risks and delinquent involvement relative to those of girls in more patriarchal families. Most previous tests of power-control theory have focused on how family type structures the relationships described above. We also adopt this strategy; however, we extend it, examining how gender conditions these relationships. Thus, in the following analysis, we explore how the causation of common delinquency works differently across families and among sons and daughters.

DATA, VARIABLES, AND METHODS

We test our explication of power-control theory with data collected in 1987. These data were gathered after Hagan et al.'s original formulation of the theory and as part of a project comparing street and school youth

---

[5] However, given their socialization, female delinquency may take a different form than that of males (Hagan, 1990). Grasmick et al. (1993) add that power-control theory offers insights into the adult gender patterning of a wide range of behaviors beyond crime and delinquency.

(Hagan and McCarthy, 1997); although not designed to test power-control theory, the data contain measures of the theory's key concepts.

The data are from youth who attended one of three randomly selected schools in Toronto, Canada, a city of approximately three million people. Teachers distributed information about the study, together with parental permission slips, to a random sample of grade 9 through 12 classes. Students who received parental approval completed a 30-minute self-report instrument in classrooms and cafeterias (a maximum of 40 students per room), and chose a popular music recording for their participation. Respondents answered questions about their families, school experiences, and involvement in deviant and illegal activities. Youth from families in which one or more biological parents were absent were instructed to answer questions about their mothers and fathers by referring to the people with whom they lived during their formative years or with whom they had the strongest relationships. Of the 825 youth contacted, 562 participated in the study. Our response rate of 68% falls within the range of 60% to 75% typically obtained in school-based studies (e.g., see Hindelang et al., 1981).

In our first analysis, we use a two-step process to divide our sample on the basis of family-power relations (see Table 1 for variable coding). We use information on mother's and father's employment status, authority within the workplace, and business ownership to classify each parent's class position. Using neo-Marxist class categories (see Wright, 1985, 1993), we categorize each parent as a member of the employer, petit bourgeoisie, manager, or worker class. We label as "more patriarchal" those families in which males have a higher class position than their spouses (e.g., as an employer versus as a manager); we categorize families in which women's class position is superior as "more matriarchal"; and we designate as "less patriarchal" those in which men's and women's class position is the same. The small number of matriarchal families ($N = 38$) precludes their inclusion in our work, and in our first analysis, we divide the sample into more and less patriarchal households ($N = 297$ and 234, respectively). In this analysis, we introduce gender as an exogenous variable. In our second analysis, we use gender to divide the sample into males ($N = 237$) and females ($N = 294$) and add family type as a background factor.

Our models include two additional exogenous variables: age and parent's marital status. Both of these are important predictors of delinquency and parent-child relations and, thus, are important controls for the relationships of interest. Our models contain five intervening variables; the first two assess parental agency. Consistent with Hagan et al. (1989), we measure the central dimensions of parental agency with a series of parent-specific items that distinguish relational and instrumental components of childrearing. We assess relational control with questions that ask how

Table 1. Variables, Coding, and Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Indicator(s)	*x*	S.D.
Age	Measured in years	16.655	1.340
Gender	Female = 0, Male = 1	.446	.498
Family Type	Less patriarchal = 0, More patriarchal = 1	.559	.497
Family Structure	Disrupted = 0, Both biological parents = 1	.714	.452
Paternal Instrumental Control	How often does your father know where you are/who you are with when you are out at night? Both items 1 = Never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Usually, 4 = Always	4.964	1.713
Paternal Relational Control	How often do you talk about thoughts and feelings with your father?/How much would you like to be like your father? First item 1 = Never, 2 = Sometimes, 3 = Usually, 4 = Always; Second item 1 = Not at all, 2 = In just a few ways, 3 = In some ways, 4 = In most ways, 5 = In every way	3.580	1.388
Maternal Instrumental Control	Same as above	5.806	1.584
Maternal Relational Control	Same as above	4.132	1.463
Gendered-Activity Schemas	It is best if the man works and the woman takes care of the family/A preschool child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works/Men should make most of the important family decisions/A married woman can't easily make career plans because her plans depend on her husband's plans for his/Men should share the housework with women/Parents should encourage as much independence in their daughters as in their sons. First four items 1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Uncertain, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree; last two items reverse coded	13.467	4.220
Risk Preferences	The things I like best are dangerous/I like to take chances. 1 = Strongly Disagree. . . 5 = Strongly Agree (as coded above)	5.996	1.884
Risk Perceptions	Could you steal from a store and not get caught?/Could you break into a place and not get caught? 1 = Definitely No, 2 = No, 3 = Uncertain, 4 = Yes, 5 = Definitely Yes	5.556	2.322
Minor Delinquency	In the last year, how many times have you. . .Smoked marijuana/Beat someone/Possessed stolen property/Shoplifted things worth less than $50/Taken a family member's car without permission	2.275	3.548

often respondents talk with a parent about their feelings and about the extent to which they want to be like each parent. Our inquiries about instrumental control focus on parental knowledge and monitoring of respondent activities, asking how often respondents' mothers and fathers know where they are and whom they are with when they are out at night.

The remaining independent variables in our model measure respondents' support for gendered-activity schemas, risk preferences, and risk perceptions. We assess the first of these with a series of items similar to those used in Grasmick et al.'s (1996) test of power-control theory. Grasmick et al. ask respondents to assess their parents' level of agreement with nine statements about gender-related work and household issues. We focus on the respondents' own views and use a subset of six statements; we use fewer items than Grasmick et al. because of the smaller number available in our data and eliminate items that include assertions about gender nature (e.g., we exclude a measure that refers to men's constitutional characteristics). The items we use gauge respondents' views about the effects of mothers working outside the home, daughters' independence, gender-division of labor in the household, and family decision-making. We suggest that these items reflect support for patriarchal schemas about the gender-specific nature of household and workplace activities.

Following earlier tests of power-control theory (Hagan et al., 1990), our risk preferences and risk perceptions variables are both based on two items. The former measure respondents' agreement with the statements, "I like to take chances" and "The things I like to do best are dangerous," whereas the latter assess their beliefs about whether they could break into a place or steal from a store and not get caught.

Our dependent variable is measured with information on five types of common delinquency. Restricted to the year preceding the study, these items measure the frequency of taking a family member's car without permission, smoking marijuana, possession of stolen property, beating up someone, and shoplifting of goods worth less than $50.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for the variables we use indicate that at the time of the survey, the average age for respondents was 16, the most common living arrangement was with both biological parents, and slightly more females than males participated in the study (see Table 1). Information on parental control indicates that, on average, mothers were more involved in supervising their children (instrumental control) than fathers and had better relationships with them (relational control): Compared to fathers, mothers assumed greater agency in the control of their children. On average, the youth in our sample disagreed with statements consistent with gendered-activity schemas, they had somewhere between an uncertain and a modest attraction to risky activities, and they believed that they could successfully commit a theft. These youth also had, on average, some, but

Table 2. Unstandardized Measurement Coefficients for Pure Mediated Model for the Full Sample (Model B)

Latent Variable	Indicator(s)	Coefficients
Age		1.000f[1]
Gender		1.000f
Family Structure		1.000f
Paternal Control	Instrumental Control	1.000f
	Relational Control	.311*
Maternal Control	Instrumental Control	1.000f
	Relational Control	.325*
Gendered-Activity Schemas	Men should make most of the important family decisions.	1.000f
	It is best if the man works and the woman takes care of the family.	.927*
	Men should share the housework with women.	.463*
	A preschool child is likely to suffer if his/her mother works.	.515*
	A married woman can't easily make career plans because her plans depend on her husband's plans for his.	.784*
	Parents should encourage as much independence in their daughters as in their sons.	.332*
Risk Preferences	The things I like best are dangerous.	1.000f
	I like to take chances.	.834*
Risk Perceptions	Could you steal from a store and not get caught?	1.000f
	Could you break into a place and not get caught?	1.008*
Minor Delinquency	Beat someone.	1.000f
	Smoked marijuana.	3.365*
	Possession of stolen property.	.910*
	Taken a family member's car without permission.	1.528*
	Shoplift things worth less than $50.	1.774*

[1]Fixed effect.
*$p < .05$.

not extensive, involvement in delinquent activities; of these, smoking marijuana and fighting were the most common.

We begin our first analysis by taking advantage of the multiple measures available in our data to estimate structural equation models. Table 2 contains information on the measurement component of our model. The results indicate that all of our items are significantly related to the latent variables identified by power-control theory. In Table 3, we present information on a series of models. Starting with the entire data set and a null model limited to measurement effects (Model A), we make various modifications based on measurement concerns, theoretical interests, and empirical relations. Our second model (Model B) adds structural effects, but is a pure mediated model in which each dependent variable is directly influenced only by the variable that precedes it. This model also introduces constraints between measurement errors for three sets of indicators (see Table 3 for details). In Models C through G, we add structural effects that reflect theoretical interests (e.g., concerning gender and parental control) as well as modifications suggested by the data (e.g., between family status and delinquency).[6] For example, in Model C, we introduce paths between gender and each of the following: maternal control, gendered-activity schemas, risk preferences and perceptions, and delinquency. These paths correspond with the theoretical ideas discussed earlier, and modification indices reveal that their absence seriously undermines the model. An overview of the results reveals that each modification significantly improves our ability to fit a model to the data. The chi-square to degrees of freedom ratio for Model G of 1.85 is lower than the two or three ratio typically used as indicative of a well-fitted model (Carmines and McIver, 1981), and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is an acceptable .04 (see Browne and Cudeck, 1993). In our final model, we use the best-fitted model (Model G) as a template for estimating a stacked model (Model H) that divides our sample into more and less patriarchal families. The chi-square to degrees of freedom ratio for our stacked model is 1.53 and the RMSEA is .032.

In Figure 1, we present the substantive model used in our test of power-control theory (we omit measurement, family-, and gender-specific models for simplicity). In Table 4, we provide unstandardized structural coefficients for the entire sample (from Model G) and for more and less patriarchal families. Our full and subsample analyses suggest several patterns common to both family types. In more and less patriarchal families, the presence of two biological parents significantly increases paternal control (b = 1.192 and .979, respectively) and decreases delinquency (b = –.450 and –.600). As well, gender is negatively related to maternal control (b = –.759 and –.489) and positively associated with risk perceptions (b = .506 and .365). These effects indicate that in both families, mothers' control their daughters more than their sons, and that compared with female youth, male children are more likely to believe that they can offend with impunity. Further similarities between the two family types include the positive relationship between paternal and maternal control (b = .472 and .564) and the latter's negative effect on risk preferences (b = –.206 and –.127).[7] In both families, a predilection for risk increases the belief that

---

[6] For models that introduce more than one effect (i.e., Models C and D) we first estimated individual models adding one path at a time; in all cases the revised model significantly improved the chi-square to degrees of freedom ratio.

[7] We also estimated a nonrecursive model with reciprocal effects between paternal and maternal control; however, the effect of maternal control is nonsignificant.

Table 3. Measurement Models for Power-Control Theory of Minor Delinquency

	χ^2	df	$(\chi^2 i - \chi^2 j)/(dfi - dfj)$	AGFI	RMSEA
Model A: Null model (no structural effects)	1399.721	213	——	.720	.103
Model B: Pure mediated model[1]	705.997	200	693.724/13*	.866	.069
Model C: Mediation model with four direct gender effects (maternal control, gendered-activity schemas, risk preferences, delinquency)	495.974	195	210.023/5*	.899	.054
Model D: Model C with two direct paternal control effects (gendered-activity schemas and risk preferences)	443.172	193	52.802/2*	.909	.049
Model E: Model D with one direct maternal control effect (risk preferences)	417.692	192	25.480/1*	.913	.047
Model F: Model E with one direct risk preferences effect (on delinquency)	373.450	191	44.242/1*	.920	.042
Model G: Model F with one direct intact family effect (delinquency)	350.810	190	22.640/1*	.923	.040
Model H: Stacked Model G combining more and less patriarchal families	607.266	396	——	.883	.032

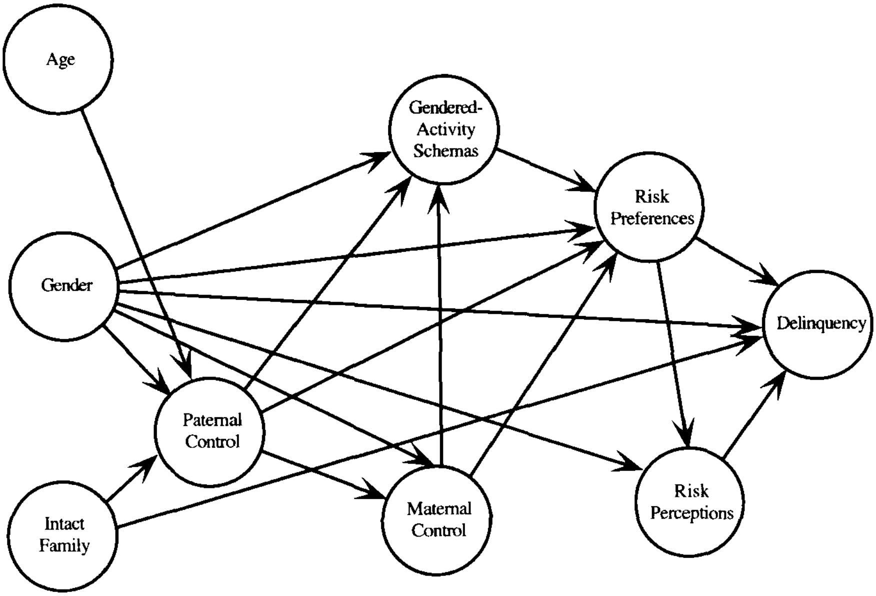
[1] Modification indices suggest three measurement constraints between the measurement errors for the following indicators: maternal and paternal relational control, beliefs about housework and independence in female children, and shoplifting and possession of stolen property.

*$p < .05$.

one could offend and not get caught (b = .703 and .708) and encourages involvement in delinquency (b = .763 and .570).

Notwithstanding these similarities, our results point to contrasts between families, particularly with regard to gender, maternal control, and support for gendered-activity schemas. Gender's effect on paternal control differs across family types: It significantly influences paternal control in more patriarchal families (b = –.658), but has a smaller, nonsignificant effect in less patriarchal homes (b = –.362). Consistent with power-control theory, this difference suggests that in more patriarchal households, fathers are more controlling of their daughters than their sons, whereas fathers in less patriarchal families are less discriminatory in their control practices.

Figure 1. Path Model for a Power-Control Model of Gender and Delinquency



Gender's effects on support of gendered-activity schemas and risk preferences also vary across families. In both types of households, gender is positively and significantly related to support of dominant schemas; however, this effect is about one-third larger in more patriarchal families (i.e., *b* = 1.182 compared to *b* = .745). A stacked model that forces this effect to equality in both families produces a significantly worse fit than a model that allows it to vary between family types (the latter model improves the χ^2/df ratio by 7.082/1); thus, although males generally offer more support for gendered-activity schemas then females, this difference is most pronounced in more patriarchal families. These families differ further because gender's direct effect on risk preferences is nonsignificant (*b* = –.170), operating instead through its influence on support of gendered-activity schemas; in contrast, gender has a notable direct effect on risk preferences (*b* = .351) in less patriarchal families.

Gender's varying effects on delinquency are also consistent with power-control predictions. In more patriarchal families, gender has a sizable and significant direct effect on delinquency (*b* = .459)—indicating males' greater involvement—as well as indirect influences through intervening variables that represent differences in parental agency, patriarchal

Table 4. Unstandardized Structural Effects for Power-Control Models of Minor Delinquency by Family Type

		Full Sample		More Patriarchal		Less Patriarchal	
Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	*b*	S.E.	*b*	S.E.	*b*	S.E.
Age	Paternal Control	-.033	.053	-.021	.072	-.047	.078
Gender	Paternal Control	-.524	.143*	-.658	.187*	-.362	.221
Intact Family	Paternal Control	1.094	.155*	1.192	.202*	.979	.242*
Gender	Maternal Control	-.634	.110*	-.759	.155*	-.489	.153*
Paternal Control	Maternal Control	.515	.032*	.472	.045*	.564	.044*
Gender	Gendered-Activity Schemas	.993	.087*	1.182	.110*	.745	.128*
Paternal Control	Gendered-Activity Schemas	.066	.028*	.040	.034	.113	.046*
Maternal Control	Gendered-Activity Schemas	-.070	.031*	-.020	.038	-.147	.053*
Gender	Risk Preferences	.111	.104	-.170	.157	.351	.138*
Paternal Control	Risk Preferences	-.083	.029*	-.036	.037	-.148	.045*
Maternal Control	Risk Preferences	-.173	.032*	-.206	.041*	-.127	.051*
Gendered-Activity Schemas	Risk Preferences	.182	.060*	.317	.089*	-.081	.082
Gender	Risk Perceptions	.441	.098*	.506	.119*	.365	.137*
Risk Preferences	Risk Perceptions	.709	.072*	.703	.090*	.708	.099*
Gender	Delinquency	.069	.038	.459	.151*	-.132	.172
Intact Family	Delinquency	-.173	.045*	-.450	.147*	-.600	.175*
Risk Preferences	Delinquency	.230	.051*	.763	.153*	.570	.171*
Risk Preceptions	Delinquency	.033	.030	-.015	.114	.330	.144*
Gender	Crime (Total Effect/SE)	.208/.060		.788/.192		.437/.186	

*$p < .05$.

schemas, and risk preferences. In comparison, gender has a small, insignificant direct effect on delinquency (*b* = –.132) in less patriarchal families. Thus, compared to females, males in less patriarchal households are not significantly more involved in offending when intervening variables are held constant. The total effect of gender on delinquency affirms the differences between the two family types: gender's total effect in more patriarchal families is more than twice as large as it is in less patriarchal ones (i.e, .788 compared to .437).

The differential effects of parental agency on support of gendered-activity schemas are of special interest. In more patriarchal households, paternal and maternal control have nonsignificant effects on these schemas (*b* = .040 and -.020), whereas they have significant but opposing effects in less patriarchal ones; in the latter families, fathers' control efforts increase support for these schemas (*b* = .113), while mothers' control practices more strongly diminish this tendency (*b* = –.147). These effects suggest that *compared to mothers in more patriarchal homes, those in less patriarchal families act more strongly as agents of control in resisting and discouraging patriarchal schemas.*

As predicted by power-control theory, gendered-activity schemas also operate differently across families. In more patriarchal households, support for these schemas has a sizable, significant and positive effect on risk preferences (*b* = .317), whereas in less patriarchal ones its effect is small and nonsignificant (*b* = –.081). In both households, a preference for risks increases delinquency, but the effect is larger in more patriarchal ones (*b* = .763 and .570, respectively). These effects suggest that children in more patriarchal households are more likely to translate exposure to gendered-activity schemas into a desire to take risks; a perspective on gender that, for males, increases their involvement in delinquency.

The above results offer considerable support for power-control predictions about family structure, parental agency as expressed in control practices, patriarchal schemas, and risk perceptions and preferences. They also affirm the importance of gender. In the second stage of our analysis, we explore further the effect of gender and test our premise that power-control theory is more predictive of variation in male rather than female delinquency.

As a first step in exploring this issue, we provide descriptive statistics for males and females by family types (see Table 5). With only a few exceptions, the differences between males and females across families are consistent with power-control theory: regardless of family type, males report significantly lower levels of maternal instrumental control, more support for gendered-activity schemas, a greater preference for risk, more confidence in their ability to successfully offend, and more extensive involvement in delinquent activities. Males also report lower levels of paternal instrumental control and maternal relational control, but only the former is significant. There are two additional significant differences: On average, males are slightly older than females and report greater levels of paternal relational control.

Comparisons within genders and across family types are also consistent with power-control theory, but only one difference is statistically significant. The data indicate that females from less patriarchal households are less controlled than those in more patriarchal ones; moreover, they report greater confidence in their ability to offend with impunity and are more involved in delinquent activities. Meanwhile, males from less patriarchal families report greater levels of instrumental, but not relational, control than those in more patriarchal households. As well, males in these families are less assured of their ability to successfully offend and have less extensive histories of delinquent involvement. The only significant gender difference between families involves support for gendered-activity schemas among males: As expected, males in more patriarchal households report greater support for these schemas than those from less patriarchal families.

Our final comparison of these descriptive data involves gender differences across the two family types. Six of these eight comparisons are consistent with power-control theory; that is, relative to the gender differences in more patriarchal families, those in less patriarchal households are smaller for paternal and maternal instrumental control, paternal relational control, support for gendered-activity schemas, risk perceptions, and delinquency. The most prominent of these differences are reductions of about 30% in the gender differences for parental instrumental control and for support of gendered-activity schemas, as well as a 40% decline in the gender difference for involvement in delinquent acts.

Table 6 presents our multivariate exploration of gender-based interaction effects. The χ^2/df ratio of 1.45 and a RMSEA of .029 suggest a close fit between the model and the data. Individual results indicate several effects operate similarly for both genders. For females and males, maternal control decreases a preference for risks (b = –.170 and –.140), a penchant for risks encourages the belief that one could successfully commit a crime (b = .824 and .650), risk preferences increase delinquent involvements (b = .598 and .802), and delinquency is discouraged by membership in an intact family (b = –.429 and –.696). Living in an intact family significantly increases parental control for both genders but is more pronounced for female youth (b = 1.408 and .707). A stacked model that fixes this effect to equality affirms the saliency of the difference: It fits the data less adequately than a model that allows this path to vary across the two genders (i.e., the latter has a χ^2/df improvement of 4.269/1). A comparison between models

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics and T-tests by Gender, Within and Between Family Types

	More Patriarchal Families (297)				Less Patriarchal Families (234)			
	Males (134)		Females (163)		Males (103)		Females (131)	
Variable	x	S.D.	x	S.D.	x	S.D.	x	S.D.
Age	16.933	1.339	16.534	1.219*	16.796	1.424	16.412	1.369*
Gender	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Family Structure	.731	.445	.693	.463	.699	.461	.733	.444
Paternal Instrumental Control	4.612	1.506	5.233	1.797*	4.748	1.643	5.160	1.788
Paternal Relational Control	3.813	1.355	3.436	1.403*	3.757	1.397	3.382	1.428*
Maternal Instrumental Control	5.224	1.549	6.276	1.508*	5.408	1.504	6.130	1.516*
Maternal Relational Control	4.172	1.374	4.215	1.518	3.942	1.434	4.137	1.508
Gendered-Activity Schemas	16.261	3.558	11.479	3.360*	15.126	4.283+	11.779	3.625*
Risk Preferences	6.440	1.837	5.663	1.883*	6.544	1.867	5.527	1.751*
Risk Preceptions	6.485	2.176	4.804	2.174*	6.408	2.220	4.870	2.175*
Minor Delinquency	3.221	3.994	1.344	2.663*	2.961	4.111	1.825	3.180*

*$p < .05$, t-test of means (two-tailed) by gender, within families.
+$p < .05$, t-test of means (two-tailed) by gender, between families.

that fix and free effects indicates that although paternal control significantly augments maternal control for daughters and sons (*b* = .461 and .600), this effect is significantly greater for males (χ^2/df improvement = 4.549/1).

Our results also reveal more pronounced gender differences; indeed, compared to the model for females, twice as many effects are significant for males. For males, age has a significant, negative effect (*b* = –.220) on fathers' control practices; yet, this trend does not occur for females (*b* = .138). For males, but not females, membership in more patriarchal families encourages the adoption of gendered-activity schemas (*b* = .235 and –.102). Paternal control also encourages support for these schemas, but only among sons (*b* = .109 and .038). This effect of father's control contrasts with that for mothers whose control discourages the adoption of gendered-activity schemas, but again only for males (*b* = –.171 and .015). These effects put in context our earlier findings of non-significant effects of parental control on gendered-activity schema in more patriarchal families, revealing that parental controls do have an effect, but only for males. Moreover, *the difference in the gender effects of maternal and paternal control reinforces the conclusion that mothers and fathers contrast one another as agents of control in encouraging and discouraging patriarchal schemas, with mothers assuming greater agency in counteracting these schemas, especially among their sons.* As anticipated by power-control theory, support for gendered-activity schemas has a gender-specific effect on risk preferences; that is, it is sizable and significant for sons but not for daughters (*b* = .318 and .074).

DISCUSSION

In the 1970s, several writers argued that women's increased participation in the workforce would increase their opportunities to offend; they also suggested that structural changes encouraged by women's liberation would elevate women's motivation for particular crimes, particularly minor, property ones. It is now widely accepted that most data on female offending are inconsistent with these predictions; however, the underlying view of women embodied in this argument has not been as frequently challenged. The prediction that women's motivation to offend would increase assumes that women would not only interpret their participation in the public arena in ways similar to men, but that these experiences would have an overwhelming influence on their consciousness and practices, overpowering the effects of their experiences as daughters and mothers. This assumption portrays women as structural automatons, denying them agency in how they respond to structural arrangements.

We assume that women and men respond to, but also influence, the

Table 6. Unstandardized Structural Effects for Power-Control Models of Minor Delinquency Divided by Gender

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Males		Females	
		b	S.E.	*b*	S.E.
Age	Paternal Control	–.220	.071*	.138	.076
Family Type	Paternal Control	–.128	.197	.112	.196
Intact Family	Paternal Control	.707	.216*	1.408	.214*
Family Type	Maternal Control	–.103	.158	.113	.148
Paternal Control	Maternal Control	.600	.050*	.461	.041*
Family Type	Gendered-Activity Schemas	.235	.116*	–.102	.091
Paternal Control	Gendered-Activity Schemas	.109	.047*	.038	.030
Maternal Control	Gendered-Activity Schemas	–.171	.048*	.015	.036
Family Type	Risk Preferences	–.177	.122	.103	.111
Paternal Control	Risk Preferences	–.114	.048*	–.067	.035
Maternal Control	Risk Preferences	–.141	.051*	–.170	.041*
Gendered-Activity Schemas	Risk Preferences	.318	.091*	.074	.094
Family Type	Risk Perceptions	.083	.132	.079	.117
Risk Preferences	Risk Perceptions	.650	.094*	.824	.118*
Family Type	Delinquency	.197	.179	–.187	.119
Intact Family	Delinquency	–.696	.199*	–.429	.130*
Risk Preferences	Delinquency	.802	.171*	.598	.156*
Risk Perceptions	Delinquency	.096	.137	.146	.109

NOTE: $\chi^2 = 576.291$, $df = 3967$ ($\chi^2/df = 1.45$), AGFI = .886, RMSEA = .029
*$p < .05$.

structures they encounter. Drawing on the complex web of resources and schemas available to them, both genders participate in the reconstruction and transformation of social structures. Extending Sewell's work on structural theory, we offer an elaborated power-control theory of gender and delinquency that is sensitive to the roles of resources, schemas, and agency. Power-control theory proposes that transformations in women's workforce experiences, the resulting increase in their control of work and home-based resources, and their enhanced opportunities to exercise agency in family relations represent important changes in family life. These changes are accentuated by comparisons between more and less patriarchal households, and may include alterations in familial control practices and support for traditional, patriarchal schemas. Changes in familial control undoubtedly influence sons and daughters; in the latter case, possibly lessening the proportionately greater controls to which mothers traditionally expose their daughters, and thereby allowing increases in daughters' preferences for risk and involvement in delinquency. However, the most pronounced effects of changes in family life may be in altering the control of sons by mothers. In families with less patriarchal structure and schemas, the agency of mothers may moderate the support of male children of patriarchal gender schemas, thereby discouraging a preference for risks and delinquency.

Our data provide some support for these predictions. Consistent with the general perspective of power-control theory, our family-structure analysis reveals that compared to parents in more patriarchal households, mothers and fathers in less patriarchal families control their daughters less; however, of possibly greater importance for crime is that these mothers also use their greater agency to increase control of their sons, relative to daughters, encouraging them to resist patriarchal schemas. In these families, support of gendered-activity schemas declines, as does male delinquency. Meanwhile, in more patriarchal families, males are more likely than females to support patriarchal schemas and offend.

The salience of gender in structuring delinquency is further revealed by our gender-interaction models; we find more significant effects for males compared to females in these analyses. Comparisons between male and female youth also highlight the role of family resources, schemas, and agency. For example, there is little variation among females in support of gendered-activity schemas, regardless of their family type; in contrast, male youth differ widely, with those in less patriarchal families adopting a more critical view than their counterparts in more patriarchal homes, but they remain more conventional than females from more patriarchal homes. Gender operates further in that, for males, higher levels of paternal control encourage conventional views about gendered-activities, whereas maternal control discourages them. These patterns suggest that the structural changes introduced by the women's movement may have their greatest effects on female youth, making them more consistently gender neutral in their beliefs. In contrast, males appear to have resisted gender-based change with fathers promoting, and sons accepting gendered-activity schemas; however, mothers in less patriarchal families appear to have made some inroads in challenging male resistance by altering their sons' support for conventional views. Overall, our findings support power-control predictions that gender, family structure, parental agency, risk preferences, and risk perceptions explain important variation in delinquency; moreover, they suggest that power-control theory may have greater relevance for male, rather than female, delinquency, helping to account for both the frequency of male delinquency—relative to female delinquency—in more patriarchal families, and the decline in male offending in less patriarchal families.

The patterns we observe among the youth in our study are consistent with larger social processes that characterize the post-1970 period. For example, Simon and Landis (1989) report that in the United States, public opinion surveys reveal that support for various measures of "patriarchal attitudes," or what we call gendered-activity schemas, diminished from 1974 to 1985. In 1974, 62% of women and 67% of men said it was best if women worked inside the home and men were employed outside of it; by 1985, only 47% of either men or women agreed with this statement. In the earlier period, 46% of women and 44% of men agreed that men should share household tasks with women, whereas in 1985, 57% of women and 50% of men expressed this sentiment (also see Thornton, 1989). This increased questioning of dominant schemas continued through the 1980s and into the current decade. Studies also affirm that this trend is not unique to the United States, but is apparent in survey data from several western, industrialized nations (Banaszak and Plutzer, 1993; Wilcox, 1991). These shifts in popular attitudes are undoubtedly connected to women's workplace experiences; as reported in the 1992 census, more than 50% of married women in the United States were employed in the early years of this decade (Bureau of the Census, 1992), a trend that does not appear to have abated.

Nonetheless, there is disturbing evidence of a backlash against people and processes that question patriarchal structures. The popularity of the "Promise Keepers" movement (Cose, 1997) and the Southern Baptist Convention (Niebuhr, 1998) are two examples of a resurgence in the United States of organizations with propatriarchal sentiments. The Southern Baptist Convention—the largest Protestant denomination in the United States—recently revised its Faith and Message Statement, adding that "A wife is to submit herself graciously to the servant leadership of her husband. . .and to serve as his *helper* in managing the household and nurturing the next generation" (emphasis added). A revised power-control theory suggests that this philosophy—and the practices it can engender—will likely reinforce patterns of male dominance characteristic of patriarchal families, thereby heightening levels of male delinquency and counteracting favorable effects of maternal agency in less patriarchal family structures.

REFERENCES

Adler, Freda
1975 Sisters in Crime. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Banaszak, Lee Ann and Eric Plutzer
1993 The social bases of feminism in the European community. Public Opinion Quarterly 57:29–53.

Bumpass, Larry and James Sweet
1989 Children's experiences in single-parent families: implications of cohabitation and marital transitions. Family Planning Perspectives 21:256–260.

Bureau of the Census
1992 Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1992. 112th ed. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Browne, Michael W. and Robert Cudeck
1993 Alternative ways of assessing model fit. In Kenneth A. Bollen and J. Scott Long (eds.), Testing Structural Equation Models. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.

Carmines, E. G. and J. P. McIver
1981 Analyzing models with unobserved variables: Analysis of covariance structures. In George Bohrnstedt and Edgar Borgatta (eds.), Social Measurement: Current Issues. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.

Cherlin, Andrew J. and Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr.
1994 Stepfamilies in the United States: A reconsideration. Annual Review of Sociology 20:359–381.

Chesney-Lind, Meda and Randall G. Shelden
1992 Girls, Delinquency, and Juvenile Justice. Pacific Grove, Calif.: Brooks/Cole.

Cose, Ellis
1997 Promise Keepers: Here to Pray for the Nation. Newsweek 130 (15):28.

Giddens, Anthony
1984 The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration. Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press.

Gilligan, Carol
1982 In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Grasmick, Harold G., Brenda Sims Blackwell, and Robert J. Bursik, Jr.
1993 Changes in the sex patterning of perceived threats of sanctions. Law and Society Review 27:679–705.

Grasmick, Harold G., John Hagan, Brenda Sims Blackwell, and Bruce J. Arneklev
1996 Risk preferences and patriarchy: Extending power-control theory. Social Forces 75:177–199.

Hagan, John
1990 The structuration of gender and deviance: A power-control theory of vulnerability to crime and the search for deviant role exits. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 27:137–156.

Hagan, John, Celesta Albonetti, Duane Alwin, A.R. Gillis, John Hewitt, Alberto Palloni, Patricia Parker, Ruth Peterson, and John Simpson
1989 Structural Criminology. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

Hagan, John, A.R. Gillis, and John Simpson
1979 The sexual stratification of social control. British Journal of Sociology 30:25–38.
1985 The class structure of gender and delinquency. American Journal of Sociology 90:1151–1178.
1987 Class in the household: A power-control theory of gender and delinquency. American Journal of Sociology 92:788–816.
1990 Clarifying and extending a power-control theory of gender and delinquency. American Journal of Sociology 95:1024–1037.

Hagan, John and Bill McCarthy
1997 Mean Streets: Youth Crime and Homelessness. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hagan, John, John Simpson, and A.R. Gillis
1988 Feminist scholarship, relational and instrumental control, and a power-control theory of gender and delinquency. British Journal of Sociology 39:301–336.

Heimer, Karen
1996 Gender, interaction, and delinquency: Testing a theory of differential social control. Social Psychological Quarterly 59:39–61.

Hindelang, Michael J., Travis Hirschi, and Joseph G. Weis
1981 Measuring Delinquency. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.

Hines, Alice M.
1997 Divorce-related transitions, adolescent development, and the role of the parent-child relationship: A review of the literature. Journal of Marriage and the Family 59:375–388.

Manning, Wendy D. and Pamela J. Smock
1997 Children's living arrangements in unmarried-mother families. Journal of Family Issues 18:526–544.

McCarthy, Bill and John Hagan
1987 Gender, delinquency, and the Great Depression: A test of power-control theory. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 24:153–177.

Messerschmidt, James W.
1986 Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Crime: Toward a Socialist Feminist Criminology. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield.
1993 Masculinities and Crime: Critique and Reconceptualization of Theory. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Naffine, Ngaire
1987 Female Crime: The Construction of Women in Criminology. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Niebuhr, Gustav
1998 Southern Baptists say husbands should lead wives. The Globe and Mail (June 11):A6B.

Seltzer, Judith
1994 Consequences of marital dissolution for children. Annual Review of Sociology 20:235–266.

Sewell, William H., Jr.
1992 A theory of structure: Duality, agency, and transformation. American Journal of Sociology 98:1–29.

Simon, Rita J.
1975 Women and Crime. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.

Simon, Rita J. and Jean M. Landis
1989 Women's and men's attitudes about a woman's place and role. Public Opinion Quarterly 53:265–276.

Thornton, Arland
1989 Changing attitudes toward family issues in the United States. Journal of Marriage and the Family 51:873–894.

Wellford, Charles
1990 Class, status, and criminological theory. Contemporary Sociology 18:15–-16.

Wright, Erik Ohlin
1985 Classes. London: Verso.
1993 Typologies, scales, and class analysis: A comment on Halaby and Weakliem's ownership and authority in the earnings function. American Sociological Review 58:31–34.

Wilcox, Clyde
1991 Support for gender equality in West Europe: A longitudinal analysis. European Journal of Political Research 20:127–147.

Bill McCarthy is an Associate Professor in the Sociology Department at the University of California at Davis. He is co-author with John Hagan of *Mean Streets: Youth Crime and Homelessness* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), which in 1998, received the Michael J. Hindelang award from the American Society of Criminology and the C. Wright Mills award from the Society for the Study of Social Problems. His main research interests include youth crime, homicide, and criminal success.

John Hagan is the John D. MacArthur Visiting Professor of Sociology and Law at Northwestern University, a Senior Research Fellow at the American Bar Foundation and Professor of Law and Sociology at the University of Toronto. He is currently working on a study of the lives of Vietnam War resisters in Canada with the support of a John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship.

Todd S. Woodward is a post-doctoral student in the Psychology Department at the University of British Columbia. His primary interests include neuropsychology, deviant behavior, and multivariate statistical modeling.